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A familiar ring to the words at Stockholm

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Military chiefs tend to argue that secrecy is nine points of a country's military strategy.

So neither Nato nor Warsaw Pact politicians would have had an easy time whipping up support for disclosing military activity from the Atlantic to the Urals with the aim of eliminating mistrust and reducing the risk of armed conflicts.

For that was part of what was agreed last autumn in the shadow of missiles deployment by members of both pacts and neutral and non-aligned European countries.

Steps were also to be taken to develop verification procedures.

A special forum was even set up to work out the details: the Conference on Confidence-Building and Disarmament in Europe.

It met for its inaugural session in Stockholm in mid-January, when Foreign Ministers from all over Europe and North America took part.

Several speakers in Stockholm said that the East-West dialogue was continuing regardless. Is it?

That is a question that almost automatically arises now the first session of the Stockholm conference has ended.

In dry-as-dust balance-sheet terms the answer is bound to read that the outcome so far has amounted to no more than two or three monologues a day singing the praises of what has yet to happen.

There can be no question of a dialogue having taken place, let alone objective negotiations.

Yet the course of the conference so far is both politically and tactically complicated because all 35 countries in Stockholm are allowed to have equal rights.

They also plan to confer with each other for roughly three years in the Swedish capital. So it would have been naive to expect the opening round of talks to do more than stake out initial claims.

Claims were certainly staked, especially by the Nato countries, who can be said to have taken swift and united action.

Western delegates, whether from Norway, Holland, Spain or Turkey, outlined with one voice, as it were, Nato's views on confidence-building and security.

They were able to do convinced that their common approach did virtually literal justice to the conference mandate with its emphasis on exchange of military information and on military transparency.

The Nato catalogue is couched in the same terms as the conference mandate drawn up in Madrid last autumn. But Madrid is not Stockholm.

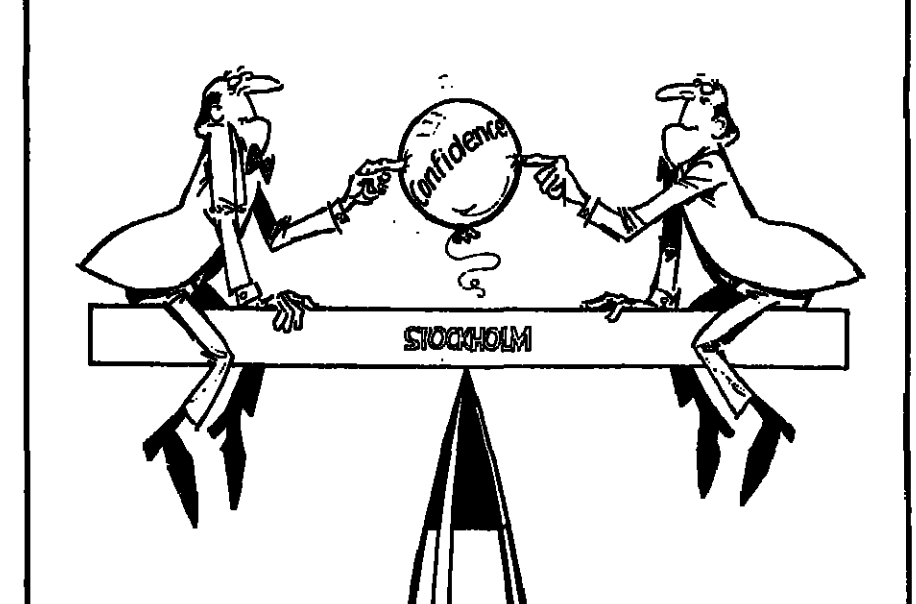
The Warsaw Pact seemed in the Spanish capital to indicate a degree of readiness to make concessions on transparency.

But from the outset in Stockholm the Soviet tendency to think in terms of a beleaguered fortress came fully to the fore.

A superpower that in many respects is the strongest military power in the world evidently feels behind its missile fence that it is surrounded by villains on all sides.

How else is one to account for the fact that in Stockholm too the Soviet Union refuses point-blank to consider verifiability of any troop movements it may see fit to announce in advance?

Monologues need not be monotonous, as Western delegates have shown. East Bloc delegates in contrast basically told the same old tale.



Just don't move suddenly!

(Cartoon: Klaus Böhle/'Die Welt')

It was a rejection of "notorious transparency" coupled with the call for declamatory agreements on renunciation of the use of force and first use of nuclear weapons.

But why, in this case, did Moscow and its allies agree in Madrid to a mandate that concluded from longstanding renunciations of the use of force the time had come to give them expression and effect in a militarily significant and politically binding manner?

One possible answer the Russians sought to encourage in Stockholm was the assumption that Moscow would not embark on serious negotiations until after the US Presidential elections.

This assumption was arguably corroborated by the lack of interest shown by the Soviet Union and its allies (apart from a lone Rumanian bid) in putting together and formally submitting an East Bloc package of proposals.

This disinclination contrasts with the readiness to put forward proposals shown by both the West and neutral countries at Stockholm.

Maybe this means the East will be in a position to adopt a more flexible approach at a later stage.

At all events the Western delegates were doubtless well advised to patiently outline their own proposals and not to urge the Soviet Union to contribute more to the debate than verbal interpretations of the conference mandate.

All delegations will welcome the recess as an opportunity of reviewing the situation elsewhere. It needs reappraising by all and sundry, bilaterally and in groups.

One can but hope that more will come of the review than the stuff of which further monologues are made.

Werner Adam

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 March 1984)

IN THIS ISSUE

The door opens a little at Vienna troop-cut talks

Süddeutsche Zeitung

For years little or no attention was paid to the MBFR troop-cut talks in Vienna. They might just as well have been held for ever and a day in some fairy-tale castle or other.

The delegates in the Redoutensaal of the Hofburg in Vienna seemed to have been forgotten by their governments as they constantly counted and recounted troop strengths in Central Europe, never arriving at figures that tallied.

Hopes of agreement had long been abandoned. Suddenly, at the beginning of the eleventh year of talks, the picture has changed.

Prospects of achieving results are as poor as ever they were, but there is a feeling of relief that the negotiations have not died like the Geneva missile talks.

Everyone feels much better now the delegates are back in business, although it would be premature to talks in terms of spring.

Not everyone would agree with Chancellor Kohl that a political ice age is light years away, but the freeze never really set in in Vienna.

Even after the West had gone ahead with missile deployment the Russians left the door open a chink in the Austrian capital.

It has now been pushed open, but that need not mean more at present than that the Soviet Union wants to keep on talking and to sound out the temperature of East-West ties.

For the Americans and their allies in Vienna, especially Bonn, there is no cause for merely saying "I told you so: I always knew the Russians would return to the conference table."

A closer look at the conference documents shows that, irreconcilable though the figures may be (the Russians are said to have ignored about 150,000 men), a few pointers to compromise exist.

The Soviet Union has progressed in respect of inspection. The United States has made headway on numbers.

A few men more or less no longer matter. What is needed is a sign of goodwill.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 17 March 1984)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Peking and Moscow: small steps but big obstacles

Süddeutsche Zeitung

In the 18 months since Sino-Soviet talks on normalising relations between the Communist great powers began, three Soviet leaders have held power in the Kremlin.

Neither side has voiced expectations of a breakthrough in the latest round of talks, the fourth, held this time under the aegis of Mr Chernenko.

Yet progress has been made in individual sectors of relations, such as trade, the resumption of a wider range of contacts and less strained dealings with each other.

Rapprochement was apparent from the seniority of the Chinese delegation in Moscow for Mr Andropov's funeral.

When Mr Brezhnev was buried in November 1982 the Chinese delegation was led by Foreign Minister Huang Hua. At Mr Andropov's funeral last month the Chinese delegation was led by Deputy Premier Wan Li.

He is a member of the Chinese politbureau and the highest-ranking Chinese official to confer with the Russians since Prime Ministers Kosygin and Chou En-lai broke off talks in Peking in 1969.

Mr Chernenko has since suggested holding talks at a higher level. Outlining the Soviet attitude toward China in a speech early this month, he made several points.

He noted that a return to normal in relations with China would heighten the role of socialism in world affairs.

This amounted to an acknowledgment that China was a socialist state. Until the end of ideological hostilities following the death of Chairman Mao neither side was prepared to concede that the other was genuinely socialist.

He said fundamental differences of opinion continued to be apparent in talks between Deputy Foreign Ministers Quian Qichen and Leonid Ilyichev.

He particularly ruled out agreements with China that would be detrimental to other countries' interests.

This was a clear pointer that the Kremlin still has no intention of removing what Peking calls the three main obstacles to normal relations.

They are Soviet support of Vietnam in Cambodia and the stationing of Soviet forces in Afghanistan and Mongolia.

In Mongolia's case the Chinese include the mass build-up of Soviet forces along the Soviet frontier and the deployment of SS-20 missiles east of the Urals.

Mr Chernenko reiterated Soviet interest in a gradual resumption of cooperation in economic affairs, science, the arts and other sectors.

Between 1981 and 1983 trade between the two countries increased from $219m to $800m, so the Soviet Union is one of China's more important trading partners again.

In the last round of Sino-Soviet talks last October more was envisaged than a mere further increase in trade. There was talk of Soviet participation in the modernisation of Chinese production facilities equipped with Soviet assistance in the 1950s.

The Soviet Union envisages agreement on a longer-term programme of economic and technical assistance during the visit to Peking in May by Soviet Deputy Premier Ivan Arkhipov, a foreign trade specialist.

Where the three obstacles are concerned, observers in Moscow feel the Soviet Union is most likely to make concessions to Peking in connection with the transfer of Russian troops from the Chinese border.

In theory the opening this year of the northern Baikal-Amur parallel to the Trans-Siberian railway route could play a logistical part in any such decision.

Before the fourth round of talks between the Deputy Foreign Ministers in Moscow the Peking *People's Daily* attacked the growing Soviet military presence in Asia and the Pacific, describing it as a threat to China.

This attack came in the wake of weeks of more dulcet tones in the Chinese media.

The newspaper referred not only to the Soviet Pacific fleet, consisting of [illegible] vessels, but also to the 53 Soviet divisions in the Far East and the 126 SS-20 missiles stationed east of the Urals.

In 1979, twenty years after the break between China and Russia, Peking rejected the idea of renewing the 1950 friendship pact. But it accepted a Soviet proposal to hold talks of a general nature and not just on the border issues raised by China. Then the Russians invaded Afghanistan.

In 1981, when the Chinese Party leader Hu Yao-bang stressed the independence of Chinese foreign policy, the pendulum swung away from the United States and toward the Soviet Union.

The Kremlin is unlikely to see any ground at present for withdrawing from military terrain held around China from Soviet Asia via Indo-China to Afghanistan.

The Soviet presence is, after all, a part of overall strategy toward the United States and, increasingly, Japan.

Since the last round of talks Moscow has reacted strongly to the support given by Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian to the Japanese claim to the southern islands in the Kurile chain annexed by the Soviet Union.

China continues to clamour for the elimination of the three obstacles, but this demand is partly due, as Russia well realises, to Peking's aim to gain leeway in dealings with both superpowers (especially as it cannot hope to catch up with either of them in the foreseeable future).

The Russians may see this as a precondition for gradual rapprochement with China.

Bernhard Küppers

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 March 1984)

Vogel in Russia: now it's a different game

Hannoversche Allgemeine

The leader of the Social Democrats, Hans-Jochen Vogel, has returned from a visit to Moscow where he had talks with the Soviet party chief, Mr Chernenko.

Herr Vogel also visited Moscow a year ago when he talked with the former leader, Mr Andropov. And he seems disappointed that in the interim political prospects have not improved.

Power in the Kremlin is no longer held by Mr Andropov, a man capable of a brilliant line of argument. Mr Chernenko has little experience of foreign affairs.

Herr Vogel himself is no longer the SPD Shadow Chancellor whose election campaign the Kremlin was in a position to give a boost.

He is merely the SPD Opposition leader in Bonn. That means he is no longer be as important as he was.

A year ago, in a talk lasting two and a half hours Mr Andropov indicated that the Soviet Union was prepared to reach a compromise at the Geneva talks on medium-range missiles.

In a talk lasting barely 20 minutes Mr Chernenko had little more to say to the SPD leader in the Bonn Bundestag than an exchange of pleasantries.

No mention was made of reactivating the Geneva arms control talks or of fresh disarmament moves by the Soviet Union, such as a freeze of nuclear stockpiles in Europe.

Yet Herr Vogel did gain some small comfort from his meeting with Mr Chernenko. The Kremlin leader was fulsome in his praise of the Ostpolitik pursued by SPD Chancellors Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt.

In spite of the deep shadows US missiles cast on the East, the Soviet Union still feels Bonn's Ostpolitik is a sound basis for the further expansion and build-up of ties between Bonn and Moscow.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 March 1984)

Working to keep detente hopes alive

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Chancellor Kohl was not wasting his time in Washington in arguing the case for an East-West summit. Bonn Opposition leader Hans-Jochen Vogel was given every encouragement in Moscow in his talks with the Kremlin leader.

East German leader Erich Honecker hosted in Leipzig Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss, who is fast making a name for himself in Ostpolitik.

Are these meetings harbingers of spring in detente policy? Encouraging they may be, but three snowdrops don't make a spring.

It can certainly not be to the Germans' detriment that Bonn remains a valued partner to consult for the East even now missile deployment is under way.

They can also only benefit from the fact that the East German leadership in particular seems to have retained its leeway to forge ahead, in its own interest, with ties with West Germany.

But we mustn't labour under the delusion that we hold the key that will open the door to a new era in East-West relations.

As long as missiles continue to be deployed on both sides there will be no more than a modicum of coexistence: on the brink of a powder keg.

Arms control and disarmament are indispensable for lasting detente, especially in Europe and in the domestic climate of opinion in the countries concerned.

Herr Kohl saw for himself in Washington how little there is to go on in this respect at the moment. The gap between the superpowers still seems too wide, and both still seem too busy with domestic concerns.

The Chancellor is increasingly concentrating in what is a US Presidential election year on promoting what is closest at hand.

He is banking on the rounds of talks that are still in progress. Bonn is hoping there will be headway on troop cuts and confidence-building in Vienna and Stockholm.

The most the Chancellor feels able to hope for at present is agreement soon on an international banning of chemical weapons.

Any such agreement would be a great step forward, as the devastating effect of mustard gas in the Middle East has lately shown.

But a breakthrough in the East-West dialogue will only have been made when talks between Washington and Moscow on missiles have been resumed.

There are few signs so far of either the White House or the Kremlin being prepared to meet each other half-way on this issue.

The United States insists on the proposals already tabled in Geneva and almost prides itself on not having stated any further preconditions for a resumption of talks with the Soviet Union.

Moscow seems cautiously to be abandoning the demand for Pershing 2 and cruise missiles to be withdrawn from Western Europe before talks can be resumed.

Instead it seems to be thinking in terms of a halt to deployment by both sides.

Nato governments are not keen on this idea, partly for domestic reasons. What would happen in Germany if, after months of fruitless negotiations, the missiles were to be deployed after all?

Besides, keeping to the deployment schedule is regarded as the acid test of loyalty to Nato.

Which superpower is best able to sever the Gordian knot? Herr Vogel heard lots of words in Moscow but sensed the profound mistrust of the United States felt by the new Soviet leaders.

Herr Kohl noticed in Washington how deeply concerned the US administration is with the Presidential election campaign. America at present is the slowest ship in the Western convoy.

Europeans may be impatient, but their

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Unity the aim, but not at price of freedom — Kohl

The Bonn government's goal remains the freedom and unity of Germany through self-determination in a united Europe, said Chancellor Helmut Kohl in his State of the Nation in a Divided Germany report. But he told the Bundestag that the preservation of freedom came above all else.

The first of the annual State of the Nation policy statements was by Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger on 11 March 1968.

Then the message had a specific reference to the divided nation. It was called "State of the Nation in Divided Germany".

The Divided Germany bit was dropped at the beginning of the SPD-FDP coalition in 1969 as inappropriate because of the factual recognition of two German states and such catchphrases as "change through rapprochement."

The first messages delivered by Willy Brandt as Chancellor were still full of controversial "material on the state of the nation."

But under his successor, Helmut Schmidt, they increasingly developed into a routine modelled on the American president's State of the Union Address.

The emphasis was on Germany and the world situation with strong reference to international economic affairs.

Only six weeks after his election victory in March 1983, Chancellor Helmut Kohl went back to the original idea of presenting a picture of German-German realities, warts and all, in keeping with the decision of the 5th Bundestag.

Then, all Bundestag parties wanted a full accounting on the state of German-German relations, on what had and what had not been achieved in the preceding year.

The message was also intended to spur policy makers into an unrelenting effort to instil a spirit of oneness in the divided nation, despite the differences of social systems and despite the Wall and the barbed wire border. The message was to keep the idea of German unity alive.

Kohl's State of the Nation in Divided Germany speech was aimed at relaxing tension and halting the estrangement between the two parts of the nation.

Calmly he described the progress in relations and depicted the German problem from a European and East-West view.

It was a businesslike report without any of the flowery illusions of the early 1970s when the belief was that the fundamental differences in the political systems could at least be "set aside" in favour of rapprochement.

The first State of the Nation Message was clearly the brainchild of the Social Democratic giants Willy Brandt and Herbert Wehner, who wrested approval of the innovation from Kiesinger's Grand Coalition.

As they saw it, it was up to Kiesinger to decide how to present the first message on 11 March 1968.

What he delivered was an affirmation of detente and a continued effort to overcome the division of Germany as part of a European peace order aimed at "freedom and the fullness of life for all Germany."

Kiesinger offered East Berlin talks on all practical aspects of German-German co-existence.

His second and last message on 17 June 1969 centred around the clear rejection of a recognition of the GDR in terms of international law.

Christ und Welt
Rheinischer Merkur

And since that year also marked the 20th anniversary of the Constitution, Kiesinger reaffirmed the will of the fathers of the Constitution to achieve reunification in peace and freedom.

The first concrete suggestion for a Message on the State of the Nation in Divided Germany came from the SPD Bundestag Member Professor Karl Schiller.

In the debate on the policy statement of the second Erhard government on 29 November 1965, Schiller in his maiden speech called for "a message on the state of the nation."

It was during that debate that Herbert Wehner found the idea so good as to chide the Erhard government for not having seized upon it before.

Then Wehner was even convinced that such a message would have a positive effect on the elderly from East Germany who, as old age pensioners, were permitted to visit the West.

The 13 years of SPD-FDP coalition did not justify these hopes. The GDR pensioners had other interests and other things to worry about. And even those who had an interest in politics did not gather their information from state of the nation messages.

In any event, an idea had germinated and, on 17 March 1967, Bonn MP Franz Seume (SPD) got all-party support in putting a relevant motion before the Bundestag.

The government was called upon to present a report on the state of the nation in "split Germany" within the first quarter of every year. When the time came, "split" was replaced by "divided", and this is more than a mere semantic difference.

The man responsible for the change was Helmut Schmidt, at that time SPD leader, in the house.

He used this formulation at the 100th session of the Bundestag and it remained in use until 1969 when SPD and FDP decide on a State of the Nation Message without the divided Germany bit.

The age of détente had begun, and at its height it acted as a drug that obscured the public's view of realities.

It was the same Schmidt, this time as chancellor, who in 1978 had to agree with the Western view that the decade of détente had enabled the Soviet Union to deploy its SS-20 medium range missiles and keep the whole of Europe in check.

Whatever the true reasons — be it financial straits or shortage of foreign exchange or anything else — the GDR has adapted to the change of course in Bonn. In fact, critical sections of the Western public are wary of all this recent accomodation.

The public here views the pilgrimage of West German politicians to the Leipzig Fair with mistrust or indeed annoyance, said Gerhard Reddemann, chairman of the Intra-German Committee.

The public's reservations were confirmed this month when East Germany started building an additional wall near the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, only 24 hours before the Bundestag's *Deutschlandpolitik* debate.

Friedel Hange

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 16 March 1984)

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impatience is a factor that must be used with care if it is to have any effect.

The Chancellor has clarified any misunderstanding there may have been in Washington on Bonn's loyalty to Nato. He seems to have convinced President Reagan of the need to strengthen the pact's European pillar.

The sooner it is strengthened, the better. If Helmut Kohl, Francois Mitterrand and Margaret Thatcher use friendly urging to persuade the Americans to disregard the election campaign and act, then maybe detente will not have to wait yet another winter after all.

Thomas Meyer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 13 March 1984)

Elusive path to a normal relationship

Kieler Nachrichten

It was predictable that this year's State of the Nation Message would meet with more than usual interest.

The deployment of US missiles in the European Nato nations did not cause a new Ice Age in German-German ties.

Relations between the two German states developed favourably enough to enable the Chancellor to strike a positive balance in his message.

Visits by West German politicians to East Germany have become so frequent as to almost arouse suspicion. And later this year East German leader Erich Honecker is due to visit West Germany.

There has been an unexpected wave of East Germans coming to the West and many political prisoners have received exit visas.

The fact that the GDR has begun dismantling its automatic shooting devices along the border is another plus.

There are other positive developments. But there are also areas where progress is not being made.

For instance, the reduction of the compulsory amount of money visitors to East Germany have to exchange and the restrictions on East Germans wanting to visit the West.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl said in his address that we were still far removed from normal relations.

He is, of course, right in terms of *realpolitik* although many things are running almost frighteningly smoothly. But what he said was not the whole truth. Can the division of a nation and relations between the two Germanys ever even approach "normal".

Would this not mean coming to terms with the unnatural division?

The mood in the Bundestag on the day of the State of the Nation Message was optimistic. Honecker is going far out of his way to be accommodating though exactly what his ulterior motives are is still not clear.

Wolf Ullmann

(Kieler Nachrichten, 16 March 1984)

East Berlin's exit visas: hard facts behind the sentiment

Frankfurter Allgemeine

In February, 2,600 East Germans were allowed by East Berlin to go to the west. In 1983, the monthly rate was only a quarter of that.

This almost skates over the fact that the nation has been divided for 35 years. The people involved are Germans, regardless of whether they have the dialect of Saxony or Mecklenburg.

Does this mean that there is a new groundswell of one-nation sentiment? If it does, both Bonn's and East Berlin's *Deutschlandpolitik* will have to reckon with the fact.

Making use of the sentiment or, in East Berlin's case, controlling it, calls for sensitivity.

It is essential for Bonn to ensure that the bridge is not a one-way route for Honecker.

The criteria by which to differentiate between party officials and those ruled by them are becoming increasingly fluid in West Germany.

The question as to the legitimacy of power in the GDR must not be obscured by apparently coinciding interests. The difference between the two parliaments must remain obvious. The stream of visiting politicians and formalised contacts must not cloud the awareness of the difference between the political systems.

Cooperation with Honecker must benefit as many Germans as possible without letting us forget who we are dealing with.

It was therefore useful that in his State of the Nation Message Chancellor Kohl added some clarifications to his generally positive balance sheet: freedom is the precondition of unity and not the price to be paid for it; the Federal Republic of Germany does not seek a special German course; the denial of self determination to the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe must be overcome as part of a European solution; ties with the West must retain their priority.

The fact that Opposition Leader Hans-Jochen Vogel (SPD) agreed showed that theoretical common ground between the parties remains.

But Vogel did not speak for all Social Democrats. The left wing has long been dreaming of a national rapprochement.

When putting forward its stale proposals for a moratorium on a further arms buildup, the opposition should beware of misunderstanding Moscow's and East Berlin's sense of realities.

Kohl has done what Schmidt vainly tried to do: he has made Bonn's security policy predictable.

And standing on firm ground makes it easier to negotiate with Honecker — not only about missiles but about better things as well.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 March 1984)

■ GERMANY

Finding a place in the jigsaw for proposed visit by Honecker

Süddeutsche Zeitung



Everybody's at the Leipzig fair. Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss (left) and German Democratic Republic party leader Erich Honecker. (Photo: dpa)

Erich Honecker's stated readiness to visit the Federal Republic is rightly interpreted as an encouraging sign of bids to continue and intensify intra-German cooperation.

Yet a level-headed outlook is still advisable in spite of signs of spring and a spate of potential diplomatic activity in Leipzig.

The East German leader has so far carefully avoided suggesting a specific date for the return visit he was invited to make by Helmut Schmidt.

Many will have difficulty in recalling when Herr Schmidt extended the invitation. It was on his own, similarly postponed visit to Werbellinsee, north of East Berlin, in December 1981.

Helmut Kohl, when he took over as Chancellor in October 1982, took over and renewed the invitation to the GDR leader to visit Bonn.

Details had been worked out when a West German motorist driving to West Berlin died of a heart attack while being interrogated by East German border guards.

Franz Josef Strauss, the Bavarian Prime Minister, called the incident murder, whereupon the visit was again shelved.

There is no need to allow oneself to be accused of cold was tactics for calling to mind the stages of a visit that has not yet taken place.

It is, after all, a visit no-one can say for sure ever will take place, let alone when.

Herr Strauss, who conferred with the East German leader at the spring Leipzig Fair, has said next October or November were possible dates.

Yet according to the revised plans of the Chancellor's Office in Bonn Herr Honecker ought to have been in the Federal Republic at the very moment he was conferring with the Bavarian leader in Leipzig.

There can be absolutely no denying that perceptible easements and improvements have occurred in intra-German relations, and they have done so even without Herr Honecker visiting the West.

One is almost tempted to suggest that for many East Germans the continual postponement has been beneficial. Herr Honecker as a realist has constantly increased the value of his gestures to the West.

Normally, of course, arranging or postponing the date of a visit would not be a criterion of any great importance in the context of relations between two countries.

But relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic are something special, and the absurdities of this special relationship persist even though intra-German affairs may now be on the move.

Before flying from Munich to Leipzig Herr Strauss said: "We are coming closer to a regular state of affairs." This comment sounded a somewhat contradictory note.

To single out only one of many details, is it a regular or anywhere near regular state of affairs for Herr Honecker to envisage visiting Saarbrücken and Wiebelskirchen (where he was born) and Trier (where Karl Marx was born) but not Bonn?

Is it a regular state of affairs when East German political prisoners have to be "discreetly" released after ransom payments by the West or when Bonn has to bargain over each and every GDR citizen who wants to come and live in the Federal Republic?

Is it regular, or anything approaching regular, for there to have to be constant negotiations on a reduction of the age at which East Germans are allowed to visit

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Leipzig fair more than just a market for traders

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

West German politicians seem to have made a beeline for this year's Leipzig spring fair. Many a West German trade fair would be delighted to be visited by so many public figures.

It is amazing how much activity there was in Leipzig. It would be no exaggeration to talk in terms of an intra-German summit.

Leipzig has always been a political fair. Inferences have always been drawn from what went on at the spring and autumn fairs.

This was so in the days of the Cold War and no less so in the years that followed, the detente period.

This year's pointer is of outstanding importance. At the first fair since the deployment of the first Pershing 2s in Germany the GDR has made it unmistakably clear that economic ties with the Federal Republic have priority.

East Bloc economies all have their difficulties and problems. They also have set themselves ambitious targets, including long-term economic growth, the introduction of new technologies and, now, a general improvement in consumer supplies.

So Western aid is needed both to meet ambitious economic targets and to improve the living standards of the general public.

The Bonn-backed billion-deutschemark loan to East Germany and plans for cooperation with Volkswagen are a step in this direction. Both seem sure to lend fresh impetus to intra-German trade.

This is an instance in which politics has for once benefited from trade. Intra-German relations have grown less strained and fears of danger being caused by contact with the other side have been allayed.

The need to open up economically has been to the advantage of the political environment, as the announcement of Herr Honecker's plans to visit the Federal Republic and the increase in the number of East Germans issued visas to settle in the West have shown.

The benefit is naturally mutual, and it is worth specially noting that it has been achieved under a Christian Democrat-led government in Bonn.

Neither side can be accused of lacking goodwill to be on good terms with the other or to reactivate the detente process.

Concessions by Bonn make sound sense in this context, especially as ordinary people in the GDR are the ones who benefit from them.

Even the beaten path to Leipzig makes sense, although the key to a solution of our economic problems is clearly not to be found there.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 13 march 1984)

A spring show that brings fair weather

Frankfurter Neue Presse

After the first two days of visits by one West German politician after another it was business as usual at the Leipzig spring fair.

Deals were done, contacts made and the GDR set about casting itself in a favourable light.

Yet in the wake of the visits by politicians from the West the talk of the trade fair and the city remained whether they marked the beginning of a fresh stage in intra-German relations.

Interest in developments in the GDR and in a dialogue with the East German leaders has increased in the Federal Republic.

On political and humanitarian grounds the Bonn government is interested in cooperation in areas where agreement is either possible or conceivable.

There are political and economic reasons for the interest shown by GDR leaders in the dialogue with Bonn.

They are keen on stable intra-German ties because, for instance, strain invariably has domestic repercussions with pressure to get out increasing as ties deteriorate.

The GDR leaders have realised that the policy of demarcation and sealing East Germany off from the West that used to be pursued tended to have a destabilising effect and failed to consolidate the socialist state.

East Berlin's economic interest is self-evident. The GDR is keen to catch up with the technological level industrialised countries in the West have reached and the Federal Republic is the obvious opposite number.

Stable, predictable relations are essential if partnership with the "class enemy" is to have the desired effect. Propaganda broadsides and devious political ploys are no use.

It is an established fact that the Communists pursue rational policies when their own interests are at stake.

Will optimistic forecasts at Leipzig be borne out by the substance of relations? East Berlin's instructions still come from Moscow, but Herr Honecker, the East German leader, may possibly be on a longer leash.

Günther de Thier

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 14 March 1984)

Trade within Germany

In billions of marks

	Exports to GDR	Imports from GDR
1973	2.9	2.7
1976	4.5	3.9
1979	5.1	4.8
1982	7.1	7.0
1983	7.7	7.6

■ COMMUNICATIONS

States reach agreement on commercial television

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

After years of deadlock the Prime Ministers of the *Länder* have reached agreement on commercial TV via satellite and cable.

SPD-run states continue to refuse to take an active part in fashioning the new TV landscape, but at least they are no longer holding up the proceedings.

The Social Democrats have thus decided, late in the day perhaps, that revolutionary technology cannot be kept at arm's length in the long run.

As soon as video recorders made their appearance in the market everyone will have realised that Germans were not going to make do for all time with the TV programmes screened by the two major networks.

The point was even clearer when Luxembourg decided to relay a German-language TV programme by satellite.

The issue has since been not whether there would be commercial TV or not but whether West German politicians were to have any say in the matter.

He who hesitates may not be lost, but the debate on commercial TV in the Federal Republic shows how easily a position can be jeopardised by vacillation.

The Rhineland-Palatinate, where the country's first cable TV project has just been launched, has naturally gained a lead in satellite TV.

Rhineland-Palatinate Prime Minister Bernhard Vogel stands a fair chance of selling his government's media viewpoint on, say, advertising times to the other *Länder*.

Any government that plans to give commercial TV the go-ahead (and plenty are interested) will now have to offer potential licensees terms that enable them to compete with the service now available in Ludwigshafen.

Terms remain to be negotiated, but what already applies often sets standards.

In reaching agreement in Bonn the *Länder* have not entirely relinquished control over TV. Programmes to be relayed via the first satellite will be cabled to consumers, giving the authorities the whip-hand.

Yet prospects of stemming the tide in individual *Länder* will not be too bright. Once popular programmes are screened the pressure on politicians will become irresistible.

A breakthrough has clearly been achieved in Bonn in another respect too. At present it looks as though so many satellites will be aloft in the years ahead that 17 TV channels will be available in German.

Two of them will be relayed straight to viewers via special aerials. The remainder will have to be cabled to people's homes.

Agreement may not have been reached on who gets what, but there will definitely soon be more commercial TV channels.

Before long the main handicap may no longer be the scepticism of politicians responsible for licensing the media; it will be the shortage of capital, programme material and expert staff.

Initially, programme companies will face heavy costs, whereas advertising revenue will be modest.

In these early days the established public broadcasting corporations are extremely powerful. They have cash, programmes and experience.

So supporters of the existing system need not feel the Bonn compromise is a total defeat. The corporations will forfeit their monopoly but they will also increase their opportunities.

ZDF, one of the two existing channels, will be allocated one of the two new satellite channels, and an arts channel stands a fair chance of doing well.

Above all, the agreement reached by the *Land* Prime Ministers has provided a technical and financial guarantee for the system of public broadcasting corporations.

This rightly acknowledges the special role the public sector has to play. It will continue to screen programmes for a wider public and for minorities that

Continued on page 6

Private competition will do the public sector no harm

WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE

The dispute over private use of Westbeam, a TV facility of Europe's ECS-1 communications satellite, should soon be forgotten.

By next year eight more satellites will be sky-high and ready to relay programmes of all kinds on to German TV screens.

That being so, the much-vaunted breakthrough achieved by the *Land* Prime Ministers meeting in Bonn can be seen for what it is: inevitable.

Political pressure was no less effective. SPD-run *Länder* jumped on the bandwaggon at the very last minute.

The most significant feature of the fundamental agreement reached by the Prime Ministers has been the decision to avoid going it alone in parish-pump fashion.

They had very little choice given the unpredictable opportunities opened up by satellite TV.

It must be assumed that the technical prerequisites will now be laid on at full speed by both the Bundespost in Germany and others abroad.

That will encourage potential operators to use the facilities as soon as possible so as not to be last off the mark in the new TV market.

The broadcasting commission set up by the *Länder* will need to be quick off the mark in drawing up regulations to govern use of the satellite facility.

The details are always where the difficulties arise.

The compomise reached by CDU- and SPD-run states includes a guarantee of the existing position and further progress for the public broadcasting network.

This is a point that ought not to be overlooked even though plans for commercial TV hold pride of place. There will be no emulation of the US TV market in Germany.

Public broadcasting corporations will remain strong and undisputed in their position, and commercial competition can do them no harm.

There is nothing wrong with media variety. Media chaos is what must be averted.

Agreement among the *Länder* on a joint approach to the new development is more than could have been expected only recently.

Ralf Lehmann

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 25 February 1984)

New media and journalism degree planned

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Lower Saxony plans to launch a degree course in journalism at the college of music and drama in Hanover to cater for the demand the new media are expected to create.

A preparatory commission has been set up. Its members include Dieter Stolte, the director-general of ZDF, one of West Germany's two major TV channels, and Peter Schiwy of NDR TV, who is soon to take over as director-general of Rias in West Berlin.

Degree courses in journalism are not given at any university in Lower Saxony. The initial intake will be about 20 students per semester.

The emphasis will be on the new media, entertainment, economics and technology. The course will not cost extra cash as savings in other departments will be made to fund it.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 March 1984)

Big publishing group gears up for satellite transmission

RHEINISCHE POST

Bertelsmann, the published group, has spent less than DM100m on initial exercises in commercial TV and the new media, says chief executive Mark Wössner.

The investment is likely to cost much more in the years ahead. Germany's largest media group plans to grow in keeping with the new information and communication techniques.

When satellite TV is relayed directly in 1986, Bertelsmann will be involved by virtue of their 40-per-cent stake in Radio Luxembourg's German programme RTL plus.

Wössner says RTL are to apply for two satellite channels from the French, who are launching the satellite. One will presumably be for Radio Luxembourg in French, the other in German.

In the Berlin and Munich cable TV projects Bertelsmann are to check whether pay TV has a market in Germany.

The company will be associated with Westbeam, part of the ECS satellite project, too although they disapprove of the ECS policy of ruling out competition.

RTL plus and the ECS consortium might be said to be competing with each other. They are certainly both aiming at the German market.

The ECS consortium consists of newspaper and magazine publishers and a cable and satellite TV programme company.

But the two will not really compete, Wössner says, until the Luxembourg programmes can be seen by viewers further afield than the Saar and parts of the Rhineland-Palatinate.

Competition, he argues, will be when both channels can be seen by viewers all over the Federal Republic of Germany.

Bertelsmann have no intention of suing for a stake in the consortium. They plan to apply for a permit of their own. "We reckon we stand a 100-per-cent chance of being in on the deal," Wössner says.

He would be happy to welcome partners. Bertelsmann have certainly changed their tune. A year ago they were still very sceptical about the outlook for commercial TV.

Now they even plan political activity to ensure that media legislation in the various *Länder*, or Federal states, is harmonised.

They would like to see legislation on the same lines as the Act passed in the Rhineland-Palatinate, where large-scale trials of cable TV are in progress in Ludwigshafen.

But no-one at the group's Gütersloh head office are expecting the new media to be a licence to print money — certainly not to begin with.

The TV market in the Federal Republic, Wössner says, is not liberal. He expects making a profit to prove extremely difficult.

Advertising revenue will be limited, which is why he doesn't expect more than one, or two commercial channels at most to survive in the long run.

All told, commercial TV will only complement the public broadcasting system in Germany. It cannot take its place, he feels.

He hopes to be able to collaborate with existing broadcasting corporations, which is hardly surprising. Bertelsmann already have close links with TV via a number of companies.

Films and film rights are bought and sold. History and science programmes are made and jointly produced, often with ZDF.

Wössner's comment that the new media are not all that important for Bertelsmann because the company still do 90 per cent of their business in the print sector can be read backwards.

What it then means is that Bertelsmann already do worldwide business totalling DM600m a year in films and TV.

Michael Hamerla

(Rheinische Post, 9 March 1984)

■ FINANCE

European Monetary System, five years old, is still an unfulfilled ideal

The European Monetary System (EMS) was begun five years ago as a way of trying to coordinate the economic policies of member countries. It is a development from the snake, an arrangement where EEC internal exchange rates were allowed to vary only within narrow limits. EMS has been much less successful than was hoped.

Helmut Schmidt and Valery Giscard d'Estaing had two aims in establishing the European Monetary System: finding a European answer to America's dollar policy and giving new impetus to the flagging European integration process.

At the time, the USA cared little about the effects of its monetary policy on other countries.

EMS supporters can chalk it up as a success that this has now changed for the better. The fact is that consultations have been institutionalised and are therefore more frequent.

The question of whether this could have been achieved without the complicated EMS machinery is, however, still unanswered, especially in view of the close contacts between central banks that have existed all along.

The second reason behind EMS, the need for coordinated economic policies, is however still unanswered.

Since national parliaments are unwilling to forfeit some of their sovereignty in favour of a unified Europe, a common monetary system can at least help maintain the awareness of the need for monetary stability in national economic policies — through the back door, so to speak.

Attempts in the 1970s to bring about a European economic and monetary union and make national governments gradually relinquish some of their sovereignty had failed.

It therefore seemed reasonable to try and achieve this aim through a common monetary policy.

Upward revaluations and devaluations are useless or even harmful without supporting tax and monetary measures. The ultimate goal was to develop a coordinated monetary stability policy of the countries involved to the point where exchange rates would not drift apart in the first place.

Süddeutsche Zeitung

But the plans were too ambitious because their realisation depended on governments being prepared to forgo unilateral action.

The vision did not stand up to realities. In 1982, the Bundesbank found that the problem with the EMS was the "totally inadequate converging of economic developments in the individual member nations." The central bank was also not exactly optimistic about the future.

This year's range in the inflation rates is estimated at 7.5 percentage points, ranging from The Netherlands' 3.1 per cent to Italy's 10.6 per cent. The 1979 range was as much as 11 points (Italy: 15 per cent; The Netherlands: 4 per cent).

The seven exchange rate realignments within only five years were all necessitated by economic factors.

And since the Belgian and French francs have to be supported, the next realignment is bound to come soon.

Even a few months is too long because the stability of the exchange rates is only apparent and artificially maintained.

Creeping imported inflation is also undermining the more stability conscious countries.

There is also the fact that the artificially controlled exchange rates are causing capital movements that are imposing a considerable strain on central banks.

As far back as 1978, when the system was drafted, the then Bundesbank president, Otmar Emminger, warned that the EMS would increase inflationary risks.

The Bundesbank has therefore to this day been unable to fully abide by its potential-oriented money supply policy.

Some DM4bn in liquidity has flown into Germany during the past four weeks due to interventions within the EMS, and if the trend continues the Bundesbank might be forced to skim off liquidity by tightening up on credits. This would be incompatible with current economic developments.

So the second stage of economic integration, the development of the EMS into a European Monetary Fund, is far fetched.

After five years of experiments leading nowhere it is time to remove the system's disadvantages while retaining the useful consultations that go with it.

Otto Schwarzer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 10 March 1984)

EMS: economic lever for political change



By some coincidence, it is always around the time of its mid-March anniversary that the EMS becomes the subject of speculation. This year is no exception.

Foreign exchange markets are already speculating about the eighth realignment since the beginning of the system — a realignment in which the deutschemark will be revalued upward and the French franc devalued as on the previous seven occasions.

The strong deutschemark and the weak French franc are traditionally the two pivotal points among the EMS currencies. The others are the Italian lira, the Belgian franc, the Dutch guilder, the Irish punt and the Danish krone.

It might sound paradoxical that the tensions in this system of fixed exchange rates should arise from the drifting apart of the currencies of the two major Community nations whose leaders introduced the system in 1979: Germany's Helmut Schmidt and France's Valery Giscard d'Estaing. But their prime concern at the time was more political than monetary.

They wanted to strengthen Europe's position against President Carter's weak America.

By integrating Germany still further into Europe, Schmidt hoped to gain more support from his European partners. In essence, the EMS was conceived as an economic lever with which to bring about the political integration of Europe.

But the concept had a design flaw. It was impossible for the EMS to become the aimed-for zone of fixed exchange rates in Europe and exercise its integrating force as long as economic policies and aims within the EMS remained uncoordinated and acted as a powder keg.

Stable exchange rates can only come from a convergence of economic, taxation and monetary policies, and that is still lacking.

Schmidt's and Giscard's political plans were therefore doomed to failure.

Even so, the EMS is not a total failure.

The exchange rate stability between realignments has come to be appreciated by business.

It is this monetary bond that has helped keep protectionist trends in check. Membership in the EMS stops the politicians of some countries from pursuing fiscal and monetary policies that would cause even more unrest on foreign exchange markets.

Claus Dertinger

(Die Welt, 3 March 1984)

Dollar falls at bad time for EEC farm reform plans

There are enough real problems to deal with without worrying about hypothetical ones, says Bonn Agriculture Minister Ignaz Kiechle.

At least that was his answer before the Council of Ministers in Brussels when he was asked about the effects of the falling dollar on the European Monetary System and, therefore, on the long-troubled EEC agricultural policy.

Kiechle is not the only one facing problems caused by the behaviour of the dollar. Cabinet colleague Count Otto Lambsdorff, the Economic Affairs Minister, was more open about the subject when he was in the USA.

The fall of the dollar could again upset the balance of European currencies, Count Lambsdorff admitted.

Almost exactly on its fifth anniversary, the EMS might be put to the test

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

once more if the dollar-deutschemark exchange rate reverses itself and if the deutschemark rises disproportionately against the other EMS currencies.

The EEC is primarily concerned with growing protectionism in the USA, encouraged until now by the strong dollar and the huge American trade deficit.

But this could change with a continuously weak dollar. And the whole thing would happen at the very moment when the Community is depending on stable currencies in its attempt to repair its farm system.

The gradual removal of the countervailing levies in the farm trade within the Community, one of the major obstacles to agricultural reforms, would again be in jeopardy.

Community farm prices are fixed in European accounting units, the ecu, and they need to be adjusted every time the exchange rates of national currencies deviate markedly against the ecu.

Otherwise, farmers' incomes in their national currencies would drift apart as would be the case with a rising deutschemark, which would result in income losses in national currencies for farmers and would hinder exports.

It is here that the countervailing levies come into their own by equalising countries with strong and weak currencies and helping exports.

A new realignment within the EMS as expected by the agriculture market would severely hamper the current reform efforts in Brussels.

Eberhard Wisdorff

(Handelsblatt, 8 March 1984)

The vicious circle of CAP
The Common Agricultural Policy of the EEC

Safeguarding farmers' incomes . . .
. . . through price and production guarantees for certain produce
Annual increase of produce prices . . .
. . . result in higher production . . .
. . . which creates surpluses . . .
. . . which cost more and more to buy . . .
That empties the EEC till . . .
. . . so that the EEC must either find new sources of cash . . .
. . . or reduce price and production guarantees
Spells danger for farmers' incomes

Globus 5041

■ ENERGY

On to the next generation of nuclear power stations

By the early years of next century the second generation of nuclear power stations should be in commercial use in the European Community.

The current generation rely on light water reactors; the next will use fast breeders, on which a cooperation agreement has just been signed in London.

British, French, German, Italian and Belgian firms and research facilities are to pool resources and combine their fast breeder activities.

In the past France has been the only Common Market country to consistently back the technique, regardless which party held power, incidentally.

Britain has pursued fast breeder R & D half-heartedly. Germany has made heavy weather of the Kalkar experimental reactor, especially since costs have spiralled to create serious financial problems.

In theory there is something very tempting about the breeder reactor: it produces more nuclear fuel than it uses, giving the man in the street the impression that it creates some sort of perpetual motion, as it were.

Where only 0.7 per cent of the uranium in fuel rods is used in a present-day light water reactor, the figure for existing fast breeder reactors is two per cent.

In future it seems likely to be around three per cent, which means the nuclear fuel will be put to between three and four times better use.

Nuclear fuel utilisation can be improved by a special design of fuel rod used in light water reactors. Spent rods can also be recycled.

In this way the percentage fully used can be increased to one or two per cent, or three at most. But spent rods can only be recycled two or three times at most.

In the fast breeder it is hoped to repeat the process time and again, reaching a degree of utilisation ranging between 20 and 60 per cent, depending on whether a conservative or an optimistic estimate is preferred.

So in theory a fast breeder can put

Christ und Welt
Rheinischer Merkur

uranium to up to 60 times better use than a current light water reactor.

Natural and enriched uranium are still available readily and at reasonable prices in the world market, but they may not continue to be so in the long term.

As more and more nuclear power stations are commissioned bottlenecks are likely to occur, especially as uranium deposits are just as exhaustible as those of oil and natural gas.

A twentyfold improvement in utilisation could one day outweigh the higher cost of building fast breeders — and the extra expense is substantial.

It will then be a must for leading industrialised countries to have the know-how for constructing commercial fast breeder reactors.

But the breeder has its disadvantages. As an initial fuel input it needs natural uranium and the artificial element plutonium.

Plutonium occurs in light water reactors (and elsewhere). Chemically and radiologically it is extremely toxic.

In light water reactors the fissile value of the plutonium grows progressively worse with use, eventually becoming unusable, in fast breeders it steadily improves.

That is because the reactor breeds the plutonium isotope Pu 239, which is potentially invaluable for military use. It is progressively enriched.

A further drawback is that on account of the fast flow of neutrons the breeder needs a more effective coolant than water.

It uses liquid sodium, which is much harder to handle than water. So the power station technology required is much more expensive.

Besides, fast breeder reactors have to comply with much more expensive safety requirements than the light water variety.

That is why critics suggest that France is pressing ahead with the development of fast breeder technology because the by-product, plutonium, can be used militarily by the French force de frappe, or nuclear task force.

Since 1974 the French have run the Phénix fast breeder in Marcoule. Its capacity, 254 megawatts, makes it nearly as large as Kalkar, which is still under construction.

In a year or two they will be taking into service the Super-Phénix reactor in the Rhone valley. Its installed capacity of 1,240 megawatts will make it by far the largest breeder in the world.

Given the military spin-off, France is in a position to cost the operation on an entirely different basis from the Federal Republic of Germany, a non-manufacturer of nuclear weapons.

An argument long advanced was that Kalkar was a bottomless pit and that Bonn ought rather to accept the idea of a nuclear ruin than to continue throwing good money after bad.

The agreement now reached ensures that within a European framework

Continued on page 14

■ THEOLOGY

Consoling the sad and soothing the restless

On the first page of his 16-volume collected theological works Karl Rahner, 80, makes a comment that is typical of him.

"Is it really right," he asks, "for someone who himself is in a glasshouse always to throw stones, and to do so unfairly?

"He might for the sake of the issue involved be prepared to run the risk of breaking his own glass."

The glasshouse to which he is referring is, of course, theology, metaphysics or, to spread the net wider, received views of Christianity.

The window-panes are the established theological viewpoints, covered in soot and the dirt of ages. The stone-thrower runs the risk of sitting in the rain for a while.

Not everyone is happy at being out in the cold, least of all the official custodians.

The stone that is thrown is invariably a query starting with the words: "Is it right that . . .?" Rahner asks it not just in connection with proverbs and truisms but in relation to all established ideas in human and Christian thinking.

In the opening essay of his theological writings he goes on to say: "Today's dogmatism is very orthodox. But it isn't very alive."

In a footnote he wonders whether this orthodoxy is not at times a dead orthodoxy that can be true to the letter because it basically is no longer interested in the entire issue.

Karl Rahner the theologian is a man who after the war personally went begging to raise food donations for undernourished families.

After a triumphant ceremony in honour of his 80th birthday he quietly, embarrassedly took once more to the rostrum, this time to ask his audience for donations toward a new motorcycle for a missionary in Africa.

It was a moment that keenly showed him as the man he is: a helper of body and soul, someone who has a simple or surprising solution to problems of hardship, belief, conscience, views or very existence.

He is a genius at disaster relief in any number of categories, and prepared to go to the ends of the earth in his quest.

He has between 3,000 to 4,000 publications to his name, including paperback books with print runs of over a million.

Yet he is quite prepared to give a hearing to anyone who buttonholes him in the street and seems to have any amount of time on his hands whenever pastoral work is involved.

He has helped countless worried people and wounded hearts, individuals who have felt put to disadvantage by the Church and disappointed by God, to regain access to God and creation.

Creation may at times be dreadful, the Gospel may at times be difficult, the Church may at times be irksome. But Rahner has enabled them to reforge links and return to the fold.

He has consoled the sad, taught the ignorant, set the errant right and counselled the doubters. He has soothed the restless and accomplished everything pastoral work can hope to achieve.

He has enabled people to come to terms with what seemed to be an intolerable reality, to accept everything that seemed worthy of acceptance and to object to everything that could not be tolerated.

That indeed is the quintessence of his political theology, which is why Rahner as a theologian and a priest is also one of the most effective psychotherapists one could imagine.

That is his role for the many people who turn their backs on established religion. He is an unusual teacher of devotion to a curable reality.

Why do so many laymen, reluctant believers and benevolent non-believers, why do so many scientists and doctors, so many researchers in all manner of subjects and ordinary men, women and children so love and honour a man who expects them to undergo mental hardship?

He is a man who is as cordial and confidence-inspiring as an experienced family doctor used to be, or a pious but good-natured wise old bird of a country priest.

He is a fellow-human who has had his share of life, a scholar who knows what scholarship is, a man who knows how to set thought processes in motion, trigger problem consciousness and ask questions so difficult only a child could pose them.

He is also able to answer them from the depths of a unique mind. But he is likewise a confidence-inspiring listener who condemns no-one and finds something positive in even the most negative situation in spite of the fact that he is not a man to mince his words.

He is a theologian who wants nothing more than to understand as well as possible what Christian belief is and what it isn't.

He is a Christian whose simplicity of heart is that of a man who thinks and lives the message of the Gospels.

What is so special about Rahner's theology? He is unique in the way he tries to follow the other person's thought patterns.

He tries to delve as deeply as possible into the unstated prerequisites of what his opposite number thinks and says.

He tries to understand why a Marxist, an atheist, a scientists, a psychoanalyst or an average person thinks and feels the way he does, and how he feels.

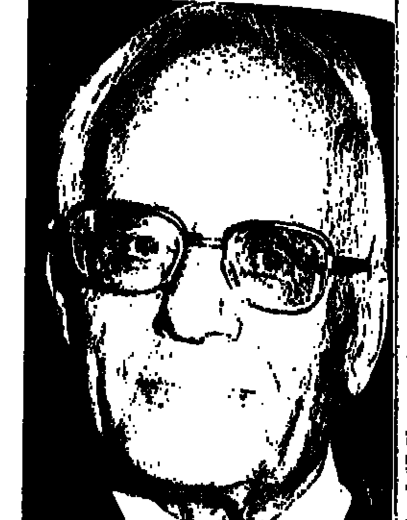
He doesn't try to disprove or correct the other person but to follow what he or she thinks and feels and pinpoint what makes them tick.

From this point he aims at an opening to the sum-total of which every individual experience and every individual person forms a part.

The way he sets about it is attractive because he never tries to iron out difficulties with the heavy hand of anxious apologetics.

He teaches patience with contradictions. The honesty with which he confronts a problem and the disarming simplicity of his critical acumen are what earn him so much confidence.

His guileless, innocent attitude has at times led to a Papal ban on the publication of his work, but it also earned him the confidence of another guileless man, Pope John XXIII.



Karl Rahner . . . warning about glass houses. (Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)

Rahner, a Jesuit, likewise enjoys the confidence of many bishops throughout the world who have studied his works at the Vatican Council and asked him for advice.

His qualities have attracted research scientists from all over the world and in many subjects, and also students and even children.

He has published a collection of letters in answer to young people.

His ability to talk as a partner with wise men and fools, spanning abysses of difficulty in arriving at understanding is due to his gift of being able to run while wearing other people's moccassins.

That, according to an old Indian proverb, is the basis of all understanding.

Albert Görres

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 March 1984)

The late Martin Niemöller: U-boat to pulpit

Pastor Niemöller has died aged 92. The attributes he earned in a long life included those of being the "spearhead of German Protestantism," the "balance wheel in the clockwork of the Protestant Church" and "Germany's most argumentative pastor."

He was also dubbed the "provocative pastor," the "difficult son of a difficult fatherland" and a "fellow-traveller."

He was branded a stoolpigeon of Moscow's for at times seeming to be closer to the East than to the Federal Republic of Germany, which he said was sired in Rome and born in Washington.

Views differed on Martin Niemöller until he was well on years. For some he was symbolic, for others a constant nuisance.

Yet disputes on day-to-day political issues often made people tend to forget the fundamental issue that motivated him as a theologian: the quest for a merciful God.

He always had more confidence in his God and obeyed him more than he did mere mortals.

These are the stations in his life: what he once referred to as "sloughing."

He was born on 14 January 1892 in Lippstadt, Westphalia, where his father was a clergyman. He was a cadet in the Imperial German Navy.

In the later stages of the First World War he was commander of a German submarine in the Mediterraenean. He sympathised with the Kapp putsch group who staged a coup against the infant Weimar Republic in 1920.

He led a student *Freikorps* that helped to quash Communist uprisings in the Ruhr. He read theology, became manager of the Innere Mission, a Protestant relief organisation, in Westphalia and in 1930 was appointed to a living in Dahlem, Berlin.



Martin Niemöller . . . controversial career. (Photo: Sven Simon)

He outlined his progress in a 1934 book entitled *Vom U-Boot zur Kanzel* (From U-Boat to Pulpit). It was written at a time when he had already undergone the decisive change that was to mark his later life.

As a young Berlin clergyman he welcomed Hitler as the saviour of the fatherland. In the March 1933 general election he voted Nazi.

But the Third Reich's anti-Church attitude and anti-Semitic measures soon prompted him to spearhead Protestant resistance.

He set up an emergency association of Protestant clergemen and emerged as the motive force behind the Confessional Church, which laid down its theological groundwork in the May 1934 Barmen Declaration.

On 25 January 1934, at a reception in the Reich Chancellery, there was a dramatic clash between Niemöller and Hitler that led to the clergyman's instant dismissal.

He was later arrested, in 1937, sent to Sachsenhausen and Dachau concentration camps, in 1938 and 1941, as a personal prisoner of the Führer's.

In 1934 Niemöller had told Hitler: "We are not worried about the Church, we are worried about the Third Reich." "That," said Hitler, "is a worry you can leave to me."

On being freed in 1945 Niemöller served the Church in many capacities. As co-author of the Stuttgart confession of guilt he helped to pave the way for the return of German Protestants to the community of world churches.

Yet even in those days his admission of collective German guilt upset many fellow-countrymen.

God, he felt, had disarmed the German people. He became an uncompromising pacifist.

In 1959 he described training as a soldier and for military leadership as a university of professional crime. The Bonn Defence Ministry sued for damages.

Nuclear armament, he said, was direct blasphemy of living God.

Views differed on Martin Niemöller until his dying day, but he will be remembered, for better or for worse, as a challenge to his Church and to individual Protestants.

The Protestant Church in Germany honoured him as a "courageous and incorruptible witness to the gospel."

Claus-Dietrich Möhrle

(Rheinische Post, 8 March 1984)

■ THE ARTS

New Stuttgart museum ranks with the best

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

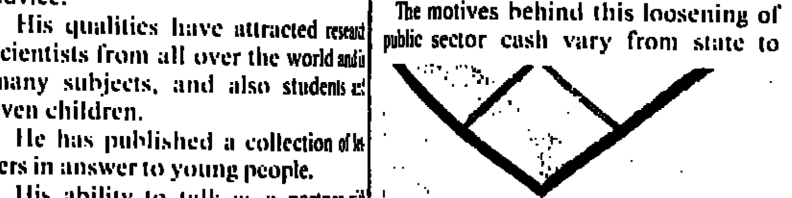
The completion of Stuttgart's *Neue Staatsgalerie* marks the high-point of post-war Germany's museum boom.

Only the combined Wallraf Richartz-Ludwig Museum, now being built in Cologne, is likely to overshadow the Stuttgart gallery.

Germany's states and municipalities have long been competing to come up with the best and most spectacular museum or art gallery.

As a result, Germany's museums can be compared with good museums anywhere.

The motives behind this loosening of public sector cash vary from state to state. In the case of Berlin's *Nationalgalerie*, a 1968 Mies van der Rohe design, the motive was political and had to do with the division of Germany.





Aiming high . . . architect James Stirling (Photo: dpa)

In fact, many post-war museums were belated efforts to master the past, demonstrative acceptances of the modern art that was rejected in the Nazi era. State collections kept in storage had to be provided with permanent homes.

Other museums were built around huge private collections amassed during the *wirtschaftswunder*. The best known of these are the Sprengel Museum in Hanover and the Ludwig museums in Aachen and Cologne.

The new gallery has cost the state of Baden-Württemberg well over DM90m. The complex, complete with theatre, designed by the British architect James Stirling, has just been officially opened by Baden-Württemberg's Prime Minister Lothar Späth.

The mere fact that the museums destroyed during the war, especially the *Kronprinzenpalais* that burned out in 1944, had to be replaced does not justify such a huge investment.

Nor can the question as to whether Stuttgart needs such a pompous museum be settled by saying that architectural and aesthetic considerations made this mandatory.

Properly posed, the question should be: Can a state of Baden-Württemberg's importance and a region as rich as the middle reaches of the Neckar River actually do without such a museum?

There can be only one answer: It cannot, just as it cannot do without top quality theatres and concerts halls.

A modern museum like the new gallery fulfills a much broader function than the mere collecting and showing of art. In fact, it is such a museum that makes the purchase of art meaningful.

Seen in this light, the museum is no more than the logical consequence of the 1958 Lotto Act (Lotto is a state approved popular lottery) and the museum foundation established in 1981 that gave the state a financial edge and the necessary funds for large-scale art purchases.

A living museum provides a wide range of cultural information on both modern and traditional art.

It is expected regularly to provide special exhibitions and lectures, just as it is expected to provide person-to-person contacts with creative artists, stimulate discussion and give cultural impulses.

It should hardly be necessary to stress that the attractiveness of an economic conurbation is also determined by a functioning museum, especially in an era of growing leisure time when the popularity of museums outstrips even that of mass sports.

The frequently raised objection that such showy projects serve personal and party glorification and prestige considerations can be ignored.

Any electoral gains to be achieved by such spectacular projects are nullified by the opposition's budgetary watchdogs.

To rank at the top in matters of art promotion might sound good but it does not impress all voters. In fact, there is more likelihood that a certain stinginess would attract more votes.

There is one aspect that should not be overlooked. Baden-Württemberg has long been regarded as having an anti-art mentality, and there are historic examples to substantiate this.

There mere building of a museum cannot change this impression. To convincingly demonstrate love of art calls for long term cultural activities in many areas.

Wolfgang Rainer

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 9 March 1984)



The *Neue Staatsgalerie* . . . not just a matter of collecting and exhibiting art (Photo: Kraufmann, freigeg. Reg. Präs. Stuttgart Nr. B 30 747)

Both architectural landmark and home for collections

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

The controversial *Neue Staatsgalerie* in Stuttgart which has just been opened to the public is being hailed as a major cultural achievement.

The museum will both be a suitable home for the huge and significant collection of modern art and an architectural landmark, says its director, Peter Beye.

British architect James Stirling designed the building which cost about DM90m and is the largest post-war cultural institution in Baden-Württemberg.

A visitor wandering through the 15 rooms of the U-shaped gallery is confronted by some of the major items as he sets out: From the life-sized figures of Oskar Schlemmer's Triadic Ballet set on high plinths, the eye is attracted by Pablo Picasso's sculpture The Bathers.

The group, one of the unique times of the museum's Picasso collection, stands almost by itself. The idea was to to suitably "stage" the sculpture, as Peter Beye puts it.

Selected works by Henri Matisse, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, Edvard Munch, Hans Arp and Willi Baumeister have been arranged in a loose chronological order and spread over several thousand square metres.

The arrangement is meant to invite the visitor to take his time studying them. Thus, for instance, Max Beckmann's Resurrection hangs entirely by itself on a large white wall with a comfortable leather sofa in front of it.

What Beye describes as "one of the most beautiful rooms" has been set aside for works by Oskar Schlemmer and Piet Mondrian.

Joseph Beuys has a room entirely to himself. It contains some of his spectacular works made of lard, plaster of Paris and beeswax. A day before the museum opened, Beuys made a point of putting the finishing touches to the exhibits.

The annexe to the Old Stuttgart State Gallery (opened in 1843) was intended by James Stirling as "a series of incidents."

In the catalogue for the opening of the gallery, the controversial architect describes his building as a collage of traditional and new elements.

He says be hopes that the cultural institution will evoke the thought association "museum" in the viewer and that the building will become a city landmark.

In an effort to prevent the impression of a "monumental quarry" the architect alternated walls of natural stone with glaringly lacquered metal structures.

The mixture of old and new makes for some surprise effects. Costly travertine rubs shoulders with a concrete arch.

The contrast is particularly stark in the roofless inner courtyard. Having gone through a modern orange revolving door, the visitor is faced with a massive pillared structure reminiscent of the entrance to a mausoleum.

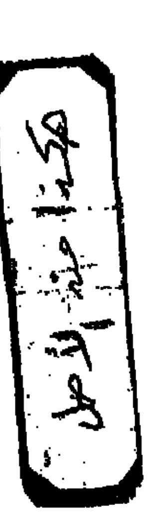
An observant viewer will also be startled by the unusual pillar in the entrance hall, supporting the ceiling like a sharpened pylon.

The back of the museum has some resemblance to the Centre Pompidou in Paris: There are huge, thrusting ventilation pipes in blue and green.

Another "architectural quotation" is the glass elevator, which is likely to thrill visiting school classes.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 9 March 1984)

Stuttgart *Staatsgalerie*: the Oskar Schlemmer room (Photo: Hannes Kilian)



■ ANIMALS

Scientists try to ease the lot of the beleaguered North Sea seal

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Between 25 and 30 seal pups a year that have lost their parents are looked after in Norddeich on the Federal Republic of Germany's North Sea coast.

Found in summer, they are cared for by the seal breeding and research station and released in autumn.

The research unit also tries to monitor the lives of North Sea seals, now few in number, and keep track of the risks they run. Biologist Michael Stede, a scientific adviser at the unit, has outlined his findings to a group of Social Democratic Euro-MPs.

The seal is apparently endangered by a specific shortfall in its biological evolution. Unlike other mammals, the newborn seal pup lacks a point where its umbilical cord is intended to snap.

As a result, its navel area is extremely sensitive.

That would not normally be unduly problematic. Salt water disinfects wounds, and they heal well.

Seal pups are good swimmers but they badly need rest (which helps the wound to heal) because their circulation is initially still that of the foetus.

Peace and quiet have long been scarce commodities along the North Sea coast. *There are millions of holidaymakers for* one.

Many go out by boat specially to see the seal banks. Some seaside resorts advertise the seals as one of their attractions.

The seal banks can also be overflown, which private pilots do to excess, as do low-flying military aircraft.

Nature has not yet been able to accustom itself to engine noise. Seals are shocked by it. The pressure inside their bodies increases and they jerk about in pain. The sandbanks being covered in broken glass and other man-made waste, the seals' sensitive navels are easily torn. Herr Stede and his associates have found traces of seals' blood spilt as a result all over the sandbanks. The mudflats are polluted by coastal effluent and overfertilised due to over-intensive agriculture. So many pathogenic micro-organisms flourish. Seals' wounds are no longer able to heal. They are infected and inflamed. Their entire bellies can be torn open, with intestines spilling out and tearing.



Rescuing seal pups from civilisation (Photo: dpa)

Ten to 15 per cent of North Sea seals have been found by the Norddeich sealwatchers to have navel injuries.

The eutrophication of the water means not only that it is rich in dissolved nutrients, shallow and seasonally deficient in oxygen.

It also means that the fish that live in it are rife with parasites. The larvae of the parasites flourish in the overfertilised water.

Fish affected include the herring, which is the seal's staple diet.

Stede has found in autopsies of seals at Cuxhaven veterinary department that in some cases their hearts and lungs have been riddled with worms.

Seals may be used to living with worms but cardiac worms emit as metabolic products toxins the seals can only withstand in limited amounts.

Seals that live off the estuaries of major rivers have been found to have heavy metals from effluent enriched in their tissue.

Seals' livers have been found to contain up to 259 parts per million of mercury. Even pups' hair is contaminated. It has a mercury count of between 15 and 20 parts per million (as against up to 97 for adults).

Other toxins, such as polychlorinated biphenyls, affect the ovaries and procreation.

Norddeich and other research units keep a careful check on the situation. A ban on hunting seals is in force too, so

Continued on page 13

Investigating the legend of the Big Bad Wolf

Wolf cubs . . . will they prove us wrong? (Photo: dpa)

Dirk Neumann, a vet and ethologist in Hanau, near Frankfurt, aims to take a closer scientific look at wolf cubs.

He wants to find out whether there is any basis for the Big Bad Wolf of legend and fairy tale.

Eight cubs are shortly due to be born near Hanau and he plans to take some home and rear them on fresh milk and baby food.

In an experiment lasting two years he will be checking the learning and curiosity of the ancestor of the dog and comparing it with that of man's best friend.

Dr Neumann, 34, feels his is a unique experiment. He is a keen hunter and dog-handler and had the idea while out hunting.

Hounds spend much of their time outdoors and have, he says, many wolf-like characteristics, whereas domesticated dogs have very little in common with their ancestors.

They subject themselves to their master or mistress in a childlike manner, he says, and have set aside all inhibitions in the course of their lengthy adaptation to life with humans.

The surprising result is that domesticated dogs bite more readily than wolves, having shed the wolf's marked inhibitions and forgotten its wide range of threatening gestures.

This is hard to believe, so widespread and negative are the fairy tales, tales of

RHEINISCHE POST

exploration and adventure in which the wolf is depicted as a wild and predatory animal.

Neumann will hear nothing of such claims. He knows of no case in which a wolf has attacked or killed a human being.

The truth is surely the exact opposite. Man has exterminated the wolf in Central Europe.

He plans to compare his cubs' progress with that of wolf cubs that grow up in the wild with their mothers. He will then know in what behavioural respects free and captive wolves differ.

The survey is intended to reveal how the dog has developed from the wild wolf to the domesticated canine. The cubs will be taught the characteristics that are typical of dogs today.

Holger Pegelow
(Rheinische Post, 9 March 1984)

Drug abuse and role of the 'autobahn vet'

Reports of drug abuse seldom refer to veterinary medicine, where it is particularly rife. A Federal Health Office brochure has now shed light on the seamier side of the business.

Entitled The Grey Market for Veterinary Medicine, it is by Professor Frey of the pharmacological and toxicological laboratory at the Free University school of veterinary medicine in West Berlin.

The title may not be very colourful, but the tale he tells is an extremely revealing: one of incredible intermingling of business interests, professional privilege and the farm lobby.

He says turnover in the grey and illegal veterinary medicine markets is estimated to amount to several hundred million marks.

"Farmers, especially when they rear animals in large numbers, are interested in cutting veterinary costs and having the drugs they need at hand."

The local vet is usually only called in when a farmer's own attempts to treat sick animals have failed.

Coming by drugs is child's play. Farmers often use vets as suppliers. Vets can order straight from the manufacturer and supply the farmer.

If one vet refuses to deliver the goods another will surely oblige. In other cases vets under contract to drug or fodder firms are used as a "legal" source of what is required.

These vets are known in the trade as "autobahn vets." They often work all over a state. It is hard to prove they haven't carried out an inspection and are thus in breach of the Drugs Act.

There are said to be autobahn vets who cater for about 1,000 different farmers and do up to DM70,000 a month in turnover.

A weak link in the chain, Professor Frey writes, are fodder firms that put an admixture of drugs into fodder sold for medicinal or curative purposes.

Legally, under veterinary supervision, they can add the drug to the products they sell. Illegally they can sell some on the side.

Pharmacists evidently earn good money in this grey market too. Many keep stock of veterinary drugs that are available on prescription only.

They sell them to autobahn vets, which is legal, but they evidently also run countrywide mail-order services for fodder manufacturers, which isn't.

The president of the Bavarian Veterinary Council estimates that about 70 per cent of veterinary drugs are sold illegally or semi-legally.

The risks are self-evident. "The economic loss due to inexpert treatment is enormous," Professor Frey writes, "as in the final analysis it is the consumer who foots the bill."

The illegal market is superbly organised. Sales are cash only. Dummy invoices are used. There are secret stores. Goods are shipped in unmarked vehicles. An effective warning system is in operation.

Dealers are specially trained and farmers wouldn't dream of saying who their suppliers are.

The market will only be kept in check, he says, once the police and the courts no longer tend to regard breaches of the Drugs Act as minor offences.

Jochen Aumiller
(Die Welt, 29 February 1984)

■ SOCIETY

The arts and the political left: tangent between aggressor and protector

Is the intellectual on the political left? There must be an opposition party when truth is at stake, a "left wing" in the parliament of scholarship — and that left is the arts faculty.

It was not a present day writer or politician who wrote this but one of the immortals in the world of the intellect: Immanuel Kant in his 1798 treatise *Der Streit der Facultäten* or the dispute between faculties.

Does this not smack of the French Revolution?

What Kant had in mind was the division of universities into four departments — a division that has existed since the Middle Ages.

In the scale of values, the theological, law and medical faculties took top place over the arts faculty.

Christian Thomasius, who was the first to lecture in German, one-sidedly

Frankfurter Allgemeine

attributed this division to the Papal power drive.

And it was Kant who drew attention to the fact that this scale of values served the interests of secular governments. But he did not reject this.

The "superior" faculties, aimed at professional training, were welcome to serve the state, as he saw it. But the "inferior", arts faculty was to serve reason only. This faculty of free teaching and free conclusions was assigned the task of "controlling" the superior three.

In his The Community of Scholars Paul Goodman enthusiastically seized upon Kant's views, saying: The arts faculty has always also been the faculty of criticism and dissenting views.

But his tone differs from that of Kant.

What Kant had in mind was agreement following the clash of arguments, a mutual stimulus.

The key word for the modern intellectual is not agreement but "dissenting view."

For Kant, the antithesis of idea and reality, intellect and power, has been arranged in such a way that those who are guided by reason only are assigned to the opposition benches while those who have to concern themselves with benefits and act accordingly are assign- the government benches.

This could partly be due to the political circumstances of his era. Much more than in the Anglo-Saxon countries, it has remained characteristic for Germany's political culture that the intellectual does not swap his role as theoretician with that of the practitioner. This is why we clearly differentiate between intelligent and intellectual.

According to Joseph A. Schumpeter's Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy, intellectuals are people who "wield the power of the spoken and written word." They have no direct responsibility for practical matters. As a result, they "lack the first hand knowledge that can only come from experience."

Their third attribute is their "critical attitude." According to Schumpeter, this does not arise only as a result of the intellectual's position as a mere bystander and outsider but also out of the fact that his success in a democracy depends on whether he is an irritant or not.

For the intellectual, opposition is not a role but an attitude.

Even after the SPD had at long last come to power, most of its intellectuals gave the impression of being people who sought power and responsibility and at the same time rejected it.

The ironic-intellectual attitude can be due to personality, upbringing or circumstances such as social isolation, idleness due to wealth or unemployment.

Intellectuals are not born leftists. But they call the old into question, chase after the new and interesting and tend to explain everything in the light of ideology. This makes them prone to radicalism. And since right wing radicalism is impossible due to the terrible experience of the past, all that remains is the left wing variety.

In their The Academic Mind, Paul Lazarsfeld and Thielens established that professors were politically further left than most other groups of American society. But their survey included only sociologists.

In their exciting book The Divided Academy, Ladd and Lipset proved that the great majority of sociologists and liberal arts scholars hold left wing-liberal or leftist views while economists, engineers and technicians tend to be conservative.

The findings also apply to Germany. The closer the contact with the professional world, the more conservative the professors.

Schumpeter predicted that the inevitable education boom would churn out more academics than needed and that this would create a "new intellectual class" that is essentially hostile to the state.

Ladd and Lipset hold that this must inevitably happen in all modern societies and that intellectuals could assume the function of society's sourdough. But the more sourdough, the less society.

There are special reasons for pondering these findings:

● Nowhere is Humboldt's ideal of non-applied research and teaching still as strong as in Germany, and this has led to theoretical topheaviness even at technical universities;

● For instance, while the GDR trains only few people in the liberal arts and many technicians, the bulk of our students are channelled to the arts;

● Our technicians are lumped together with sociologists, who do not want to argue amicably but rule ideologically. All this has caused a list to the left.

Nowhere else are the liberal arts on the one hand and technology and economics, on the other, so alien to each other as in Germany.

Kurt Reumann
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 5 March 1984)

Continued from page 12

the population decline has been reversed.

In 1960 there were about 2,000 seals left in the North Sea. By 1980 their number was down to roughly 1,200 and has since increased to 1,700.

But seals from elsewhere have joined the natives, Herr Stede says, and been mistakenly counted off the German coast.

Martin Urban
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 March 1984)

Plan to establish a German history institute in USA

Bonn Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber (CDU) plans to step up international cooperation in the liberal arts.

He told newsmen in Bonn that his government planned to establish a history institute in the USA and a liberal arts institute in Japan.

The history institute is to become operational in 1985 in the Washington D.C. area. He said that this would be finalised once the Science Council has — as anticipated — approved of the concept drafted by German and American historians.

He stressed that German and American historians have for years been urging that institutional cooperation between the two countries be expanded in this field.

The envisaged institute, staffed by German historians, is to research the close relations and conflicts of the past and promote historical insights on both sides.

The Washington area was chosen because the city's archives contain many original documents relating to Germany's recent past.

Riesenhuber stressed that such an institute would also help correct the lop-

Frankfurter Rundschau

sided picture some Americans have of Germany.

He said that the establishment of a liberal arts institute in Japan was equally important. This would enable our Far East research to provide Germany with an accurate picture of Japan, China and Korea.

The institute is to train Japan experts and generally represent Germany's liberal arts in that country.

To illustrate the difference between Japan's knowledge of Germany and Germany's knowledge of Japan, the Minister said that only 200 Germans have made a point of learning to speak Japanese while 20,000 Japanese are studying German.

Riesenhuber also announced a research programme for the preservation and restoration of endangered buildings of cultural importance in Germany to prevent their destruction — primarily due to pollution.

dpa
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 1 March 1984)

■ MEDICINE

Warning against medicines that are not fully tested

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Use of unconventional, insufficiently tested medicines can harm chances of a cure, delegates to the Munich Cancer Congress were told.

Desperate patients sometimes resorted to wonder cures that were mostly nothing of the sort.

The findings were part of a report by the German Cancer Society which set up a commission to study the problem.

The commission reported that many substances were not accepted because of inadequate testing, yet were widely used by doctors.

The problem was worsened by impossible promises by the drug makers, support in many cases by the media, and even evidence from doctors claiming to have proof of cures.

Although the commission, headed by Professors G. A. Nagel (Göttingen) and D. Schmähl (Heidelberg), was trying to avoid fuelling the controversy over these drugs, the conclusions it reached were sobering, to say the least.

Sixty-six per cent of the 59 most important preparations analysed failed to meet legal standards. Tests for effectiveness and harmlessness had either not been made at all or were inadequate.

In some cases, there had been experimental and clinical tests but the commission refused to comment on their quality because its function was not to evaluate the medicines. It was to collect all available data.

This made the report a document in which the gaps were more important than the meagre facts.

And even these facts, according to the commission, were so confusing to make a thorough testing and objective assessment of the claims by the manufacturers impossible.

Reported beneficial effects must therefore be viewed with caution.

A look at the tables on the experimental testing of these preparations, which are made from vegetable matter, organs, natural substances and chemicals, revealed a disastrous situation.

Only three of the preparations had been shown to inhibit the growth of tumours in cell cultures and animal experiments. In many cases, no tests at all were carried out by the manufacturers and nothing is known about the effects of these substances, their toxic, carcinogenic, genetic and similar harmful properties.

This means that none of the medicines had gone through the proper procedures before being used on humans. Their effectiveness was not demonstrated.

This is one of the pecularities of German drug laws which allow unconventional preparations to sidestep the safety provisions.

The serious consequences, especially with cancer drugs, was demonstrated by Professor Nagel in a paper on the special aspects of tumour therapy.

He does not gloss over the difficulties in developing, testing and evaluating cancer drugs, stressing that cancer therapy with drugs is still empirical and largely depends on the experience made with patients.

He stresses that classical cytostatic variety always destroy healthy cells along with those of the tumour.

This meant that unconventional preparations must also be subjected to stringent tests. The fact that they had relatively few side effects indicated their ineffectiveness.

Hormones in cancer therapy were even riskier because they interfered with the body's regulating mechanisms.

The biological and immunological substances that have become so popular in the past few years were even more dangerous, Professor Nagel says.

Combating cancer cells through the body's own immunological system was complicated process. This immunological reaction was regulated by stimulating and retarding factors. Therefore, anything that boosted the defence could also weaken it.

What happened in each individual case largely depended on the point at which therapy began. This disproved the old contention that biological preparations have either a beneficial effect or none at all but that they could never be harmful.

Despite its reservations about unconventional preparations, the report recommends that they be thoroughly tested if they seem to be promising.

The study has achieved its aim of helping doctors advise their patients. But even so, there remains the temptation for both doctor and patient to try for a cure with these substances.

The commission warns doctors against allowing themselves to be pressured into therapies that are unlikely to help. It also warns patients against using their last financial reserves to buy questionable or indeed harmful drugs.

Therapy in time is the more important the more sound and tested modern drugs hold the promise of a cure, the report says.

Rainer Flöhl

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 March 1984)

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breeder development will continue until the technique is commercially viable.

In connection with Kalkar there are contractual ties with Belgium and Holland, and in connection with the Super-Phénix with France and Italy.

But these arrangements expire once the two power stations are completed.

The new agreement puts European cooperation in fast breeder technology on a wider basis. In particular, it includes Britain.

Britain, France and Germany are the three Common Market countries where plans are currently under way for fast breeder reactors in the 1,200-megawatt category.

They are unlikely to be completed before the turn of the century, especially as problems are sure to arise that must be solved before the reactors can go online.

But at least there is a guarantee that Europe will not trail behind America, Russia and Japan in this sector.

Herbert Brendel

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 9 March 1984)

Cooperation in fight against cancer

Frankfurter Neue Presse

Heidelberg University and the German Cancer Research Centre (DKFZ) have entered a cooperation agreement for the joint fight against cancer.

This will enable DKFZ to care for patients as part of specific research projects.

The university, on the other hand, will have access to expensive DKFZ research and diagnostic equipment.

The agreement, which took [illegible] months to negotiate, now enables DKFZ to engage in clinical research as well.

Moreover, the university will allow the Centre access to patients' data provided this does no violate legal provisions.

The Research Centre will also for the first time be assigned specific hospital patients for observation.

Hospitals will remain in charge of their patients' medical care, meaning that the cooperation agreement will have no immediate effect on the diagnosis and treatment of cancer cases.

The agreement is the result of a [illegible] orientation of Heidelberg University which wants to become more involved in major private research projects.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 7 March 1984)

Recognition for work in kidney research

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The New York Heart Association and the American Society for Nephrology have awarded their Homer Smith Prize to Professor Eberhard Frömter of Frankfurt University's Physiology Centre.

The prize was made for his outstanding contribution to the understanding of kidney functions.

It is worth $10,000 and was introduced in 1964 to commemorate the American kidney physiologist Homer Smith.

Frömter in the second German researcher to win it.

Frömter's main research objective is to shed light on the transport mechanisms that enable certain layers of the stomach, the intestines and the kidney selectively to absorb and shed water and certain salts.

He was the first to provide incontrovertible evidence that these substances are not transported by the epithel cells but that they pass through leaky contact points between the cells.

The issue has been controversial since the first microscopic description of the contact points more than 100 years ago.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 March 1984)

■ LEISURE

Nearly half Germany ready to go on holiday

Most exhibitors at the International Tourist Exchange in West Berlin look forward to brisk business this year. Ninety-four per cent were satisfied with business at the fair this year.

There are few tangible pointers to what business is going to be like in the season ahead, a tourist trade expert explained on the eve of the International Tourist Exchange in West Berlin.

That was why operators, carriers and agents were happy to hear what any guru had to say on the subject.

In this case it was the tourist trade review presented by a study group at Berlin, and the tenor of what it had to say was that the worst was over and business was picking up again.

More West Germans planned to go on holiday this year than last, always providing some negative factors or other that no-one at present anticipates do not occur to change the outlook.

Nearly 45 per cent of West Germans at present intend to go on holiday in 1984. Market research has also found out where they plan to go.

Favourite destinations are unchanged. In Germany Bavaria remains unchallenged as front runner, followed by Baden-Württemberg, Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony.

Abroad Italy, Austria and Spain remain ever popular, with Italy coming first and Austria runner-up in absolute terms. Germany itself ranks only third.

The favourite mode of transport continues to be the family car. Nearly 70 per cent of German holidaymakers travel on their own, making their own arrangements.

Numbers were down only negligibly on 1982, and there were no signs of the crisis many feared might occur at the beginning of last season.

The outlook for the immediate future seems bright. Travel rates highly among the yardsticks by which people judge living standards.

First come housing, food and drink and a car. Then travel, followed by clothing and the arts. Even when times are hard people seldom consider going without an annual holiday.

This promising outlook is echoed by the forecasts made by representatives of countries that are popular holiday destinations.

Nearly all expect the tourist trade to increase by a few per cent. Greece is the exception. This year it expects 13 per cent more German visitors, or roughly 850,000.

Greece is one of the few countries that are planning to improve their tourist infrastructure to any great extent. Most others have no intention of adding to their existing facilities.

Tourism seems to be a barometer of the general view of life West Germans take. Asked how they rate the overall economic situation, about 45 per cent say generally good.

That is almost exactly the same percentage as plan to go on holiday this year.

But the statistics list losers as well as winners. A number of Eastern European countries that used to do well with low-cost holidays are not as popular as they used to be.

There has also been a decline in overseas travel inasmuch as holidaymakers in this category are included in statistics.

But this is due less to lack of interest than to the way people travel. Globetrotters are increasingly travelling on their own and dispensing with the services of a tour operator.

The findings are not sensational, but they demonstrate a stability many will not have expected. Tourism has shown itself to be a reliable economic factor.

The number of West Germans who go on holiday has remained remarkably constant over the past decade. In 1975 there were 25 million, in 1983 26.2 million German tourists.

They correspond to roughly 55 per cent of Germans aged over 14, and it is largely a matter of personal viewpoint whether the figures are taken to be stable or stagnating.

Statistically speaking, there will be 6.4 million West Germans who don't go on holiday.

Hans Bensmann

(Rheinische Post, 7 March 1984)

Favourite holiday destinations

Where tourists go and where they come from

Destination		
Norway	Americans 18%	Germans 16%
Denmark	Germans 44%	Swedes 15%
Germany	Dutch 21%	Americans 14%
Sweden	Norweg. 29%	Germans 21%
Britain	Americans 14%	Germans 11%
Finland	Swedes 31%	Germans 13%
Austria	Germans 70%	Dutch 11%
France	Americans 13%	Germans 12%
Yugoslavia	Germans 42%	Britons 8%
Switzerland	Germans 44%	Dutch 10%
Spain	Britons 36%	Germans 28%
Italy	Germans 43%	French 8%
Greece	Britons 19%	Germans 11%
Portugal	Britons 28%	Germans 15%
Turkey	Germans 12%	Greeks 10%

Source: OECD

Who goes where — and why 16 million did

In 1982 sixteen million Germans went on holiday to foreign countries. Where they went often depended on what sort of people they were, says a tourist study.

A remarkable number of those who visited France were gregarious, mobile youngsters, the kind that have no ties but are not loners and are happy to get to know others.

But on average they spend only 17.3 days in France and manage on a limited budget of DM54 a day.

The overall average for foreign travel is 18.2 days at DM71.90 each. Most money, statistically speaking, is spent by German visitors to Scandinavia.

They are young, single and, for the most part, female. They travel alone and spend some time in Scandinavia. An average stay of 21.4 days each is, after all, over three weeks.

Over a quarter of German visitors to Scandinavia come, incidentally, from Hesse, a state that straddles Germany from Frankfurt to the East German border.

The exception are German holidaymakers in Denmark, who make ends meet on a daily budget of a mere DM36.30 each. Over 70 per cent travel to Denmark in groups, such as families, and 33 per cent rent a holiday cottage.

Sixty-eight per cent are regular visitors to Denmark. Seventy per cent come from north Germany. Ninety-six per cent like the country.

Most German visitors to Britain and Ireland come from Baden-Württemberg. They tend to travel in groups, try out first one country, then another, and are, as a rule, extremely satisfied with their holiday.

Visitors to Holland come mainly (75 per cent) from neighbouring North Rhine-Westphalia. They spend an average 15.6 days there. Six out of 10 are married. They don't spend too much.

By the same token nearly one German in three who visits Switzerland comes from neighbouring Bavaria. Another quarter come from Hesse.

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

They are defined as a varying public with medium-range incomes who nonetheless spend a fair amount of money when on holiday.

A fair amount is also spent by the experienced holidaymakers who favour Greece. They usually spend some time there. They come from all walks of life.

Germans who spend their holidays in Yugoslavia are mainly male (56 per cent). Nearly 40 per cent are single and 53 per cent are under 30.

They mainly travel in groups, often go on camping holidays and are fairly frugal and unpretentious.

Younger holidaymakers and singles, at 32 and 28 per cent respectively, are underrepresented in Italy, whereas Bavarians, at 30 per cent, have above-average representation.

But apart from these aspects, and excepting South Tyrol, which must be seen as a special case, German holidaymakers in Italy are pretty well average for Germans who go on holiday abroad.

Austria has good reason to be satisfied with its visitors from neighbouring Germany. Older people may, at 39 per cent, be above-average in proportion, but none of us are getting any younger.

Nearly three out of four German tourists in Austria are married, and nearly two third are regular visitors. They also come evenly from all over Germany.

A large proportion of them would just as soon take their holidays in Germany, and an increasing number may well do so. But most people like Austria and visit it regularly, if not necessarily every year.

German holidaymakers overseas are mostly (more than 40 per cent) young and single. They are not necessarily particularly well-to-do. Trainees (21 per cent) and low-income groups (13 per cent) are overrepresented.

Surprisingly few Germans who travel further afield than Europe come from North Rhine-Westphalia and Bavaria.

Roughly 40 per cent of those who do are from Lower Saxony and Bremen.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 21 February 1984)

More people are taking shorter breaks

DIE WELT

The trend toward short break holidays has opened up a secondary market in the Federal Republic of Germany, a survey reveals.

It is a cross-section poll of 2,000 West Germans by the BAT leisure research institute, Hamburg.

Its findings were outlined by the institute's research director, sociologist and educationalist Horst W. Opaschowski.

Last year roughly one in two West Germans aged over 14 took one or more short breaks. The shorter the break, the more expensive the holiday, Professor Opaschowski says.

Day trips remain the preserve of pensioners, who continue to make up 53 per cent of tourists in this category.

One billion day trips a year are made in the Federal Republic, and with average spending at DM14 a head that means expenditure totalling DM14bn.

Last year was a record year for last-minute bookings, indicating a fundamental change in outlook on holidays. People are travelling more often, for shorter periods of time, and doing so with greater self-assurance.

The secondary holiday market, comprising trips of up to five days, has caught up with the traditional annual holiday. Operators will need to come up with some bright ideas, the professor says. Otherwise the new market will pass them by.

The survey also shows that holiday habits have partly changed as a result of changes in the economic situation. For 30 per cent of last year's short breakers, day, weekend and short trips took the place of a longer holiday.

That means roughly seven million people over 14 changed their holiday habits against the background of economic trends.

A further 13.6 million West Germans over 14 didn't go on holiday at all. They either kept on working for job reasons or did holiday work, paid or unpaid, in the do-it-yourself category for friends and relations.

Peter Zerbe

(Die Welt, 9 March 1984)